CHAPTER 4

Reconciling Nationalist and Non-Nationalist Loyalties

Figure 4-1 In March 2005, demonstrators from animal rights groups gathered in downtown Toronto. They were protesting the annual commercial seal hunt off Canada's East Coast. In cities around the world — such as Rome, Barcelona, Dublin, Mexico City, and London — protesters demanded that Canada stop the seal hunt.

CHAPTER ISSUE

How can nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties be reconciled?

Every year, a commercial seal hunt takes place in the waters off Canada's East Coast. But many people believe the hunt is cruel, and environmental and animal rights groups have lobbied to ban seal products. The United States, Germany, Mexico, and other countries have agreed to the ban. And in 2007, the European Union was planning to make it illegal for its members to import goods made from seals.

Both the Canadian government and the government of Newfoundland and Labrador defend the hunt. The hunt provides essential work for 6000 people and is linked to the economy of coastal communities. It is also part of people's traditions and culture.

Examine the photograph on the previous page, then respond to the following questions:

- How do the protesters' signs express their values? How might these values shape the protesters' identity? Their loyalties?
- If you were an environmentalist in a Newfoundland community that relied on the seal hunt, how might you respond to this protest? Would your response involve contending loyalties?
- The protesters painted a slogan across the Canadian flag. Did this action show disrespect for the flag, or was it a legitimate tactic to get attention? Does nationalist loyalty shape your judgment? Explain.

KEY TERMS

non-nationalist loyalties

inflation

ideology

alienation

segregation

Looking Ahead

In this chapter, you will explore how people can reconcile their nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties. You will do this by developing responses to the following questions:

- What are non-nationalist loyalties?
- How do nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties contend?
- How have people reconciled nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties?

My Journal on Nationalism

You have explored some examples of contending nationalist loyalties. Can these loyalties be reconciled? Should they be? How do your responses to these questions reflect your identity? Use words or images — or both — to express your ideas. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress through this course.

What are non-nationalist loyalties?

Everyone's identity includes individual and collective loyalties. Some of your collective loyalties may be nationalist, and some may be non-nationalist — loyalties that do not involve the idea of nation. Loyalty to your family or to the belief that animals must be treated humanely are examples of **non-nationalist loyalties**.

The importance people assign to their many loyalties can vary with time and circumstances. During World War II, for example, nationalist loyalty was very important to many Canadians. But in the years after the war ended, non-nationalist loyalties often became more important to people.

Like other loyalties, non-nationalist loyalties can change. When you first looked at the photograph that opened this chapter, for example, you may have supported the protesters. But this feeling may have changed when you discovered that many Canadians — Newfoundlanders and Inuit — rely on the seal hunt to survive.

Examine the photograph of Paul McCartney and Heather Mills in Figure 4-2. At the time, similar pictures appeared on TV and in many newspapers. The comments in the bubbles set out some people's responses to McCartney and Mills's visit to the seal-hunting area.

How do these comments affect your response to the seal protesters? What role does nationalist loyalty play in your response? What role do non-nationalist loyalties play? If you feel a conflict between loyalties, how will you resolve them?

> The visit to see the seals by Paul McCartney and Heather Mills McCartney was a tremendous boost to the movement to oppose the annual Canadian seal slaughter.
>
> — Paul Watson, Canadian wildlife activist, Sea Shepherd Conservation Society

The Nature of Loyalties

If you were asked to list your loyalties, you might include your family, your close friends, your school, your favourite music, your nation, and so on.

If your list included 20 different loyalties, what might happen when you develop a new loyalty, perhaps to a new family member? Would you need to delete an old loyalty to make room for this new one?

Most people have many loyalties — old and new. People don't need to give up an old loyalty for a new loyalty, whether the loyalties are nationalist or non-nationalist.

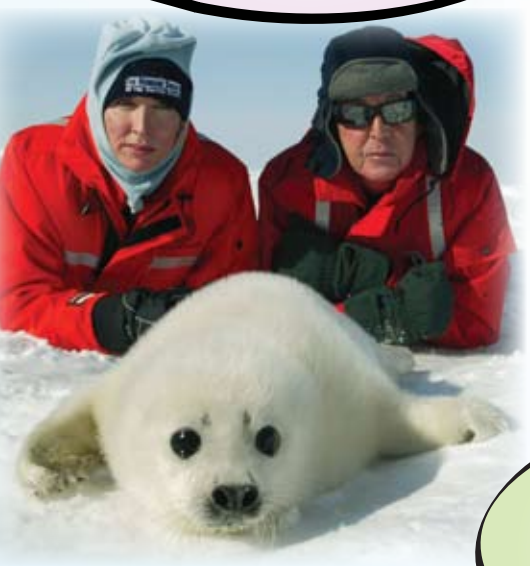


Figure 4-2 In March 2006, singer and former Beatle Paul McCartney and Heather Mills, his wife at the time, were photographed with a seal pup in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. McCartney and Mills believe that the seal hunt should stop.

> They target us instead of the beef or chicken industry because we're a smaller province and it's a smaller industry . . . They're not going to get their photo taken with a chicken. It's just not a good photo op.
>
> — Danny Williams, premier of Newfoundland and Labrador

> Lying down on the sea ice and playing with seals is, frankly, silly and it is also disrespectful to wildlife. Seals may look cute, but they are not pets — they are animals that live in the wild. Inuit hunt seals for food and clothing, and we market internationally the by-products of our sustainable hunt.
>
> — Sheila Watt-Cloutier, chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference

Picturing Non-Nationalist Loyalties in Alberta

Religious Loyalty

Figure 4-3 The Cardston Alberta Temple is a place of worship for Mormons, who founded the community of Cardston. Places of worship are important symbols of loyalty to the beliefs and values of a religion and the community that shares those beliefs.

Figure 4-4 This horse grazing on a ranch near Sundre and the natural gas plant in the background show two important aspects of Alberta's economy. People who feel regional loyalties may actively promote the economic, social, and political interests of their region.

Regional Loyalty

Figure 4-5 The Momiji Dancers of Lethbridge, Alberta, perform *odori* — traditional Japanese dancing — at festivals and community events. *Momiji* means "maple" in Japanese. The dancers' activities show loyalty to the values and ways of life of a cultural group.

Cultural Loyalty

Ethnic Loyalty

Figure 4-6 Chinese Canadians celebrate the Chinese New Year with dragons and music in Edmonton to show their loyalty to people who share the same ethnic or racial background.

Class Loyalty

Figure 4-7 University of Alberta students camped out on a heating vent on March 9, 2008. They were attempting to raise awareness of and money for homeless people — and to demonstrate a class loyalty.

Distinguishing between Nationalist and Non-Nationalist Loyalties

Figure 4-8 A hunter leans from his boat to catch a seal in the icy waters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. How might the dangers faced by seal hunters help create a sense of regional and cultural loyalty in the people of Newfoundland and Labrador?

The dividing line between nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties is not always clear. Take your friends, for example. You may have chosen some friends because you share their interests. You may have chosen others because you enjoy their sense of humour or you grew up as neighbours. Your loyalty to these friends is not based on the idea of nation.

But you may also have chosen some friends because you share with them a sense of belonging to a nation. Two Tamil-speaking students who immigrated to Canada from Sri Lanka, for example, may become friends because they share a nationalist loyalty to their language and culture.

Many non-nationalist loyalties fall into one of the categories shown in the photo essay on page 87. All are loyalties to an idea, group, or collective. A regional loyalty, for example, can be understood as a loyalty to the idea of "the West" or to the people of the West.

These loyalties are often connected. Regional loyalty, for example, may also involve cultural and class loyalties. The regional loyalty felt by the people of Newfoundland and Labrador, for example, may be tied to a loyalty to a society in which fishing and hunting were traditional ways of making a living. For centuries, the people of Newfoundland and Labrador have fished and hunted in the Atlantic Ocean. Inuit people hunted seals — for their meat, oil, skins, and fur — long before Europeans arrived in North America.

Non-nationalist loyalties can sometimes develop into the kind of collective consciousness that becomes a nationalist loyalty. When, for example, Tibetans, who are largely Buddhist, express their desire to govern themselves, their religious and regional loyalties can be transformed into nationalist loyalty.

<<< CheckBack

You were introduced to Tibetan nationalism in Chapter 1.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. In your own words, explain the difference between a nationalist and non-nationalist loyalty.
2. Create a chart like the one shown. List five of your nationalist loyalties and five of your non-nationalist loyalties.

Nationalist Loyalties	Non-Nationalist Loyalties
1.	1.
2.	2.

3. With a partner, choose one character or group mentioned in the questions on page 85. Discuss the loyalties involved in the situation you chose and create a web or other graphic to illustrate these loyalties. Use colour and shape to indicate which loyalties are nationalist and which are non-nationalist. Then decide on a title for your graphic and create a legend that rates the importance of each loyalty on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = not at all important; 5 = very important). Be prepared to explain your choices and ratings to the class.

How do nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties contend?

Just as differing nationalist loyalties can compete, so can nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties. This conflict can occur when nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties lead people toward different goals.

Why do people tend to pigeonhole others according to class?

When Class and Nationalist Loyalties Compete

Most societies are divided, either formally or informally, into social classes. People may be identified as members of classes according to the work they do or by their wealth, status, level of education, ancestry, heritage, ethnicity, or a combination of factors. If people accept these divisions, no conflict occurs. But if people dispute the divisions or believe that one class is favoured over another, conflict may result. The French Revolution is an example of the conflicts that can occur.

Class Loyalty and the Winnipeg General Strike

At the end of World War I, Canadian labour unions were small and did not have much power. As a result, many people worked in poor conditions for low wages.

In Winnipeg in 1919, the metal and building trades councils united to negotiate with their employers, but the employers wouldn't recognize these unions. So the unions asked other workers in the city to join them in a general strike on May 15. They believed that there would be strength in numbers.

At 11 a.m., thousands of Winnipeg's railway, factory, and postal workers, cooks, waiters, telephone operators, firefighters, and police walked off the job. The Winnipeg General Strike began.

The strike divided the city — and the country. The *Western Labor News* supported "the absolute necessity of settling once and for all" issues such as the workers' right to strike for better conditions. But other people viewed the strike as a warning that the strikers wanted to overturn "organized society."

Winnipeg city officials called for help from the federal government, which was concerned that the strike might spread. On June 21, the Royal Northwest Mounted Police — now the Royal Canadian Mounted Police — were called in to break up a rally of strikers. Two people were killed, 30 were injured, and strike leaders were arrested.

Because of the violence, the strike leaders called off the strike — and it would be another 30 years before unions gained any real strength in Canada.

Review the loyalties involved in the Winnipeg General Strike. At what point do you think the violence could have been avoided? What actions would have had to be taken — and by whom — for the violence not to have occurred?

Solidarity Forever

It is we who plowed the prairies; built
the cities where they trade;

Dug the mines and built the workshops;
endless miles of railroad laid.

Now we stand outcast and starving,
'mid the wonders we have made;

But the Union makes us strong.

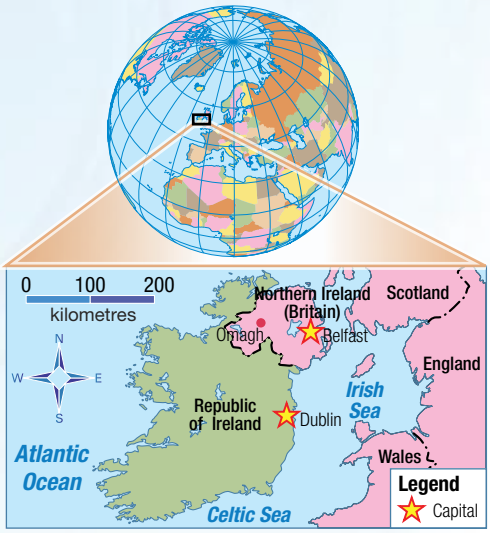
Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!

For the Union makes us strong

— Ralph Chaplin, labour activist, 1915

Figure 4-9 Some of the thousands of striking workers in Winnipeg in the summer of 1919. Does this image lend support to the strikers' song in "Voices"? In what ways?

Figure 4-10 Northern Ireland



To see a more detailed map of Northern Ireland in the world, turn to the map appendix.

FYI

Retired Canadian Forces general John de Chastelain played an important role in the peace process in Northern Ireland. In addition to helping negotiate the Belfast Agreement, de Chastelain chairs an independent commission that is trying to persuade paramilitary groups to give up their weapons. Though the commission has experienced some success, the process has been slow — and some violence continues.

Figure 4-11 On August 12, 1998, members of the Northern Ireland police inspected the site of a bomb blast in Omagh, Northern Ireland. How do attacks like this undermine efforts to reconcile contending loyalties?

When Religious and Nationalist Loyalties Compete

Because of globalization and worldwide migration, your social studies class may include students with many different religious beliefs. Canada is a civic nation where freedom of religion is guaranteed in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. As a result, people with various religious loyalties are called upon to respect one another's beliefs and coexist peacefully.

But in many countries, religious and nationalist loyalties have come into conflict in the past and continue to do so today.

Religious Loyalties in Northern Ireland

The conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland has a long history. In the 16th century, the British ruled most of Ireland. But when the British rulers embraced the Protestant religion, most Irish people remained loyal Catholics.

The Protestant British rulers treated Ireland like a colony. They ordered that land belonging to the Irish be given to Scottish and English settlers. As a result, the Irish conflict has always been a mix of religious, political, and class loyalties.

But religious loyalty has always been at the heart of the conflict. In 1654, for example, all Catholics except those who worked for Protestant landowners were forced to move to Ireland's bleak west coast. Those who refused faced death. Actions like this created tensions — and these tensions became worse over the centuries. Civil unrest, murders, and violence were common.

In 1922, the 26 southern counties of Ireland became the independent Republic of Ireland. Most people who lived there were Catholic. The six northern counties, where most people were Protestants, stayed with Britain — as Northern Ireland.

In Northern Ireland, the troubles between Protestants and Catholics continued. Paramilitary groups on both sides engaged in murderous violence. During the 1970s, the British sent the army to keep peace, but paramilitary groups — including the largely Catholic Irish Republican Army and the Protestant Loyalists — continued fighting. Between 1966 and 1999, more than 3500 people were killed and 36 000 were injured.

By the 1990s, many people on both sides had had enough. Negotiations for peace and for sharing political power began. In 1998, citizens of both Ireland and Northern Ireland voted to accept a settlement called the Belfast Agreement. Religion is not part of this agreement, but it is often called the Good Friday Agreement because it was signed on a holy day for Christians.

By 2008, the future of peace remained uncertain. The violence continued — though at a greatly reduced rate.

Many in Ireland believe that the country should reunite. Examine the map in Figure 4-10. The entire island is less than half the size of Newfoundland and Labrador. Should this, along with religious loyalties, influence whether it remains split or unites into one country?

When Regional and National Loyalties Compete

A region may be an area within a country (e.g., the West), an area within a province (e.g., northern Alberta), or even an area that crosses provincial and national boundaries (e.g., the Prairies). People often express their regional loyalty by actively promoting the interests of their region. But this loyalty can sometimes clash with their national loyalties. This is what happened in Alberta in the 1970s.

Oil, Gas, and Regional Loyalty

During the early 1970s, Canada and other countries experienced a long period of **inflation** — rising prices and a drop in the purchasing power of money.

The trouble started with a war between Israel and some oil-rich Arab countries. In 1973, those countries stopped selling oil to Western countries that supported Israel. Canada was one of these countries. This caused a worldwide shortage of oil, which in turn caused an increase in oil and gasoline prices. As a result, the price of many manufactured products also rose.

Canadian manufacturers — mostly based in Ontario and Québec — and people across the country faced high energy bills. Many people lost jobs, especially in British Columbia and the Atlantic provinces. But in Alberta, the higher oil prices brought higher profits for many companies, higher tax and royalty revenues for the provincial government, and more jobs for Albertans.

In 1973, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's government froze the price of Canadian-produced oil and gas and started taxing oil from Western Canada. Trudeau said that because Canada is rich in oil and gas, Canadians should not have to pay high world prices. And the taxes would help the Eastern provinces, which imported oil from outside Canada — and still had to pay world prices.

Figure 4-12 Vance Rodewalt created this cartoon in 1980 for *The Albertan* newspaper. What does it tell you about Albertans' conflict over the price of oil?

A Clash of Loyalties

Some Westerners already believed that federal government policies favoured central Canada at the expense of the Western provinces. And Alberta produced about 86 per cent of Canada's oil. As a result, many Albertans were furious with Trudeau, because fixed prices and added taxes on oil meant less income for the province. Premier Peter Lougheed said that Alberta had the right to charge world prices for its oil. He also argued that all provinces had the right to the income from the natural resources found in the province.

The struggle between Alberta and the federal government over the price of oil continued through the 1970s and 1980s.

Should the income from each province's natural resources be shared equally by all Canadians?

Figure 4-13 On September 1, 1981, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau (right) and Premier Peter Lougheed (centre) announced they had reached an oil-pricing agreement. What loyalties do you think motivated Lougheed and Trudeau to reach this agreement?

The National Energy Program

In 1980, Pierre Trudeau's government introduced the National Energy Program. The NEP was designed to protect Canadians from rising world oil prices and help Canada produce as much oil as Canadians needed. It was also intended to increase Canadian ownership in the oil industry. To help do this, Trudeau created Petro-Canada as a government-owned oil company. At the time, most oil companies in Alberta were foreign-owned.

Albertans predicted that the NEP would harm their economy, and their predictions proved to be true. Many foreign oil companies cut production or shut down their Alberta operations completely. They wanted to focus on business outside Canada, where they could sell at the higher world prices.

As a result, thousands of Albertans were thrown out of work. In Calgary, people could not pay their mortgages and real estate prices crashed.

In 1981, Peter Lougheed cut back on Alberta's oil supplies to Ontario and Québec. Finally, in September 1981, Lougheed and Trudeau reached an agreement that gave Alberta more control over oil prices and revenues from oil and gas extraction. For a time, Petro-Canada remained in government hands, but it has since been sold to private shareholders. Despite this agreement, the NEP had a lasting effect on Alberta. Ralph Klein was premier of Alberta from 1992 to 2006. Klein summed up his view of the effects of the NEP: "The Alberta economy nosedived thanks in no small part to the [federal] government's National Energy Program, which drained 50 000 jobs and $100 billion in revenue out of the province."

How do you think the NEP created contending loyalties in the hearts of Albertans? Of Canadians in other regions?

Figure 4-14 Oil Sands in Alberta

To see a more detailed map of Alberta in Canada, turn to the map appendix.

The Oil Sands and Loyalties

Throughout the 1990s and into the 21st century, business in Alberta's oil patch was booming. The price of oil kept going up. Midway through 2008, a barrel of crude oil was selling for nearly $140.

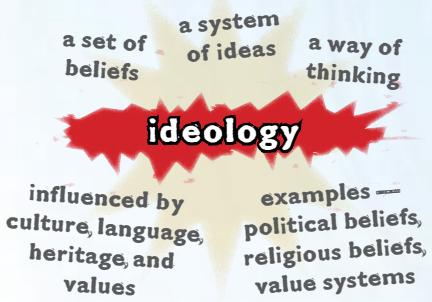
The increase in oil prices created an economic bonanza in Alberta. The world oil price was high enough that it made good business sense to invest in the costly process of extracting oil from Alberta's oil sands. This opened vast areas of the province to oil development.

Developing the oil sands offered Albertans new economic opportunities and helped build prosperity in the province. But this boom also created challenges. As people moved to Alberta to find jobs, they needed somewhere to live. Increased demand caused housing prices to skyrocket. This meant that many people had trouble finding a home they could afford.

To produce oil from the oil sands often means cutting down large areas of forest. A great deal of water is also used in the process. With a partner, discuss how this could create contending loyalties for an environmentalist — who still needs to use energy products.

The Oil Sands and Ideological Loyalties

Ideological loyalties can also conflict with nationalist loyalty. An **ideology** is a system of ideas or way of thinking.



People who support oil sands development, for example, may be inspired by both regional and nationalist loyalties. They may believe that developing the oil sands benefits Alberta and the rest of Canada. According to Ali Abdelrahman, a senior economist with Alberta Human Resources and Employment, Alberta's oil and gas industry is driving the whole economy's boom. He says, "If the whole economy is healthy, that will benefit the province in the long run."

These same people may also believe that the price of developing the oil sands is too high because it damages the environment. Estimates suggest that in 2007, strip mining the oil sands destroyed 3000 square kilometres of boreal forest.

Although oil companies are required to restore the areas when they finish mining, some environmentalists are not sure that this can be done. David Schindler, a professor of ecology at the University of Alberta, has said: "Right now the big pressure is to get that money out of the ground, not to reclaim the landscape. I wouldn't be surprised if you could see these pits from a satellite 1000 years from now."

In the face of these costs, people may be inspired by an ideological loyalty to environmental stewardship and sustainable prosperity. And this ideology may compete with their regional and nationalist loyalties.

Imagine that, as an Albertan, you support oil sands development — but you have also joined Greenpeace. What loyalties might be in conflict? Can these loyalties be reconciled? How?

Figure 4-15 In November 2007, during the opening of the Alberta legislature, Greenpeace activists hung this banner from the High Level Bridge in Edmonton to protest development of the tar sands .

Figure 4-16 Mining for oil sands that lie near the surface involves stripping away the earth to a depth of as much as 100 metres. What is your response to this? How might someone who takes an opposite view respond? What loyalties might these responses involve?

The Oil Sands and Cultural Loyalties

The development of the oil sands has been difficult for some First Nations people. Development has tested their loyalty to their traditional ways of life and culture. The oil industry provides employment and other economic benefits to some First Nations, such as the Athabasca Chipewyans. But it also changes the landscape and makes traditional activities and ways of life more difficult.

Strip mining, for example, threatens the Fort McKay First Nation. Andrew Boucher, a Fort McKay Elder, has been hunting and trapping in the area since he was nine years old. But he told a Calgary reporter that Fort McKay has now become "just a little dot" surrounded by oil sands development. "It's getting worse," he said. "Pretty soon we'll be boxed in here. Our way of life is all screwed up . . . It makes me sick . . . [Trapping is] our way of life, so we'd like to keep it. We don't want to lose our way of life, but we're losing it anyways."

In addition, producing synthetic crude requires a great deal of fresh water, and this affects lakes, rivers and groundwater supplies in oil sands areas. Melody Lepine, director of the Mikisew Cree First Nation Industry Relations Corp., told *The Nature of Things* that her nation depends on Lake Athabasca, which is fed by the Athabasca River. "We don't want any more water taken out [of the Athabasca River]," Lepine said. "We don't want any more pollution. And we just want to carry on the way we've been carrying on since time immemorial."

If 2007 plans go ahead, about 20 per cent of Alberta — 137 000 square kilometres of boreal forest — could be broken up by well sites, access roads, and pipelines. First Nations leaders are concerned about the decline in the quantity and quality of the water in the region. Elders in communities north of Fort McMurray and Fort McKay warn that pollution has made the water unfit to drink and has harmed fish and wildlife. Bill Erasmus, national chief of the Dene Nation, said that with each new oil sands project, "The growing demands on water and the environment and the absence of any sustainable solutions weighs more heavily on the people of the North."

Web Connection

To find out more about how oil sands development might be balanced with environmental concerns, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Figure 4-17 The Suncor oil refining facility shown in this aerial photograph is in the Athabasca region near Fort McMurray. To the right of the refinery is the Athabasca River.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Review the various loyalties discussed in this section. Which loyalty do you think is the most important? Explain the reasons for your response.
2. Consider the following situations. In each case, state how nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties might conflict.
   - You are an enthusiastic environmentalist, but the only summer job you can find is in the oil sands.
   - Your family's income depends on the oil industry, and you are the president of a local environmental group.
   - Your family is thinking about buying an SUV.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

The development of the oil sands creates many opportunities, but it also causes environmental damage. This can lead to contending loyalties. Here is how three people have responded to this dilemma.

Melody Lepine is director of the Mikisew Cree First Nation Industry Relations Corp. This First Nation is located on the Athabasca River, about 250 kilometres downstream from Fort McMurray. She made these remarks in 2005.

> [The Athabasca River] will just be all dry and contaminated and we'll be scratching our heads 60 years from now thinking we really should have thought about this. Maybe we shouldn't have given away those 10 last water licences. Maybe we should've done more studies . . . We don't want to stop development, yet development should be occurring responsibly, weighing both the economic and environmental balance.

Don Thompson is an executive with Syncrude Canada. Syncrude is the world's largest producer of synthetic crude oil from oil sands and supplies about 13 per cent of Canada's oil requirements.

> [Syncrude is] a significant generator of economic wealth for Canada. Since we began operations, we have contributed over six billion in royalties, payroll, and municipal taxes to government. And in 2005 alone, our expenditures topped 4.7 billion dollars — the impact of which flowed across the entire country . . . And our land reclamation practices, which include introducing wood bison onto reclaimed land, are recognized sector-wide.

Richard Schneider is a senior policy analyst for the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society in Edmonton and author of *Alternative Futures: Alberta's Boreal Forest at the Crossroads*. He made these remarks in 2003.

> Unfortunately we've done a particularly bad job of balancing the needs of development and the needs of the [boreal] forest.

> We have some particular problems here because . . . we have forestry and oil and gas development, and agriculture, and the combination of these is what's causing the real concern. For example, in the oil and gas side, we've got upwards of 70 000 kilometres of seismic line being approved for development in a typical year. On top of that, there's well-site clearing, and pipelines put in and roads to every one of those well sites. And so people don't have a good appreciation that the oil and gas industry clears as much forest as the forestry industry does. That's astounding.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Which speaker's position most closely reflects your own? Is your position based on nationalist or non-nationalist loyalties? What loyalties, if any, does your position compete with?
2. Which speaker's position is farthest from your own? Which of your loyalties do this speaker's loyalties contend with?

How have people reconciled nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties?

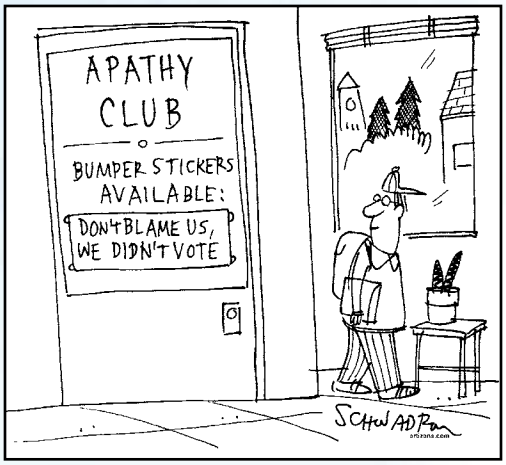


Figure 4-18 Artist Harley Schwadron created this cartoon. What do you think is the cartoonist's main message? What does he think of people who don't vote? How else do you think people can participate in their society's decision making?

Over the course of their lives, many people experience situations in which their nationalist loyalties compete with non-nationalist loyalties. Often, this occurs because their loyalties have different goals. When this happens, people can try to reconcile their contending loyalties in various ways. They may, for example,

- live with their contending loyalties
- choose one loyalty over another
- accommodate non-nationalist loyalties by bringing about change in the nation

Living with Contending Loyalties

When their nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties compete, people may choose to remain uninvolved for a variety of reasons. They may, for example,

- be undecided about how to respond
- believe that living with the contending loyalties is easier than speaking out or taking action
- believe that, as individuals, they cannot make a difference
- be occupied with other pressing concerns

For a variety of reasons, some people find it hard to express their opinions, even to a pollster who calls on the telephone. These people may pay a price for their silence: someone else may make important decisions for them.

Figure 4-19 Seventy-four-year-old Pei Lian Sun demonstrates Falun Gong meditation exercises outside the Chinese Embassy in Ottawa, in July 1999. With others, she was protesting China's alleged abuse and killing of Falun Gong members. Is religious loyalty and nationalist loyalty more likely to conflict in China or in Canada? Why?

Choosing One Loyalty over Another

When people choose one strong loyalty over another, they may lose an important part of their identity. In China, for example, the government has outlawed a religious and spiritual movement called Falun Gong or Falun Dafa.

In response to their contending nationalist loyalty and their non-nationalist religious loyalty, some Falun Gong members have chosen loyalty to their nation and stopped practising their religion. Others have chosen to defy the nation by practising their religion in secret. If they are discovered, they may be jailed and even tortured.

In both cases, people have been forced to sacrifice an important part of their identity. This can lead to feelings of **alienation** — of being on the outside or left out. When religious or spiritual values and beliefs must be suppressed or hidden, people have a hard time sharing the collective consciousness that comes with feeling as if they belong to their nation.

Finding Ways to Include Nationalist and Non-Nationalist Loyalties

The Chinese government has banned Falun Gong. As a result, members of this movement must make a difficult choice between their religious and nationalist loyalties. But in democratic countries like Canada, people can often find ways to reconcile contending nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties. As a result, these loyalties can coexist.

Michaëlle Jean, for example, is a Francophone from Québec and Canada's governor general. Like many immigrants to Canada, Jean has more than one national loyalty. She was born in Haiti and became a Canadian citizen when she and her family immigrated to Canada. She became a French citizen when she married Jean-Pierre Lafond, who was born in France. But when she was asked to become Canada's governor general, she gave up her French citizenship so that no one would question her loyalty to Canada.

At the same time, Jean also has several non-nationalist loyalties, which she expressed on her coat of arms. The motto on the coat of arms — "Briser les solitudes," or "Breaking down solitudes" — refers to *Two Solitudes*, a 1945 novel by Hugh MacLennan. This novel explored the idea that Francophone and anglophone Canadians were living together but apart — in two separate solitudes — within the same country.

On her coat of arms, Jean included both nationalist and non-nationalist symbols. What message does Jean's coat of arms send to people who are struggling to reconcile nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties? How is this message appropriate in 21st-century Canada?

Figure 4-21 In 2006, Michaëlle Jean made an official visit to Haiti. Jean was born in Haiti and spent some of her childhood in the town of Jacmel, where she was welcomed enthusiastically. What loyalties do you think the residents of Jacmel were displaying?

VOICES

The time of the "two solitudes" that for too long described the character of this country is past. The narrow notion of "every person for himself" does not belong in today's world, which demands that we learn to see beyond our wounds, beyond our differences, for the good of all.

— Michaëlle Jean, in her first speech as governor general, 2005

Figure 4-20 Michaëlle Jean's Coat of Arms

Regional and ethnic loyalty The conch shell and broken chain represent the time when the people of Jean's birthplace, Haiti, broke free from slavery.

Class loyalty The two Simbis are wise water spirits from Haitian culture. They represent the vital role of women in working toward social justice.

National loyalty The motto in Latin, "Desiderantes meliorem patriam" — "They desire a better country" — is the motto of the Order of Canada.

Linguistic loyalty The motto in French, "Briser les solitudes" — "Breaking down solitudes" — represents Jean's goal as governor general.

The history of Black people on this continent . . . is the story of every woman and man who ever demanded respect and dignity. You could even say it is the story of all those who believe that equality is an inalienable right.

— Michaëlle Jean, governor general of Canada, 2008

Bringing about Change in the Nation

Some people try to change their nation to accommodate non-nationalist loyalties. These changes are often achieved by promoting a cause within the context of the nation.

In February 2008, at the beginning of Black History Month, Michaëlle Jean praised the black people of Canada, who had changed their society by fighting for freedom and trying to make the world more humane. She called on all Canadians to break down the walls of prejudice and ensure that all people have equal opportunities.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Sandra Lovelace Nicholas
Fighting for First Nations Women

Figure 4-22 For her efforts on behalf of First Nations women, Sandra Lovelace Nicholas was awarded the Order of Canada in 1990. In 1992, she received the Governor General's Award in Commemoration of the Persons Case. In 2005, she was appointed to the Canadian Senate.

In 1970, Sandra Lovelace Nicholas married a non-Aboriginal American. She left her home on the Tobique First Nation reserve in New Brunswick and moved with him to California. At the time, the Maliseet woman had no idea that she was starting a chain of events that would change the lives of First Nations men and women across Canada.

A few years later, Lovelace Nicholas and her husband divorced, and she returned to her home on the Tobique reserve. But when she arrived, she found that she and her children no longer qualified for the rights and benefits guaranteed in the Indian Act. Under this law, First Nations men who married non-Aboriginal women retained their status and rights. Their new spouses gained the same status and rights. But First Nations women who married non-Aboriginal men lost their status and rights.

Lovelace Nicholas believed this was discrimination. She joined other reserve mothers who were protesting the lack of housing for women. At the time, all reserve houses were registered in the names of men, who were considered the heads of households. In 1985, the protest snowballed into a 160-kilometre Native Women's Walk from Oka, Québec, to Ottawa.

In Ottawa, Lovelace Nicholas met Prime Minister Joe Clark. Clark promised action, but nothing happened. First Nations leaders, mostly men, opposed changing the Indian Act. This was partly because they worried about what would happen if thousands of women suddenly regained their Indian status. The leaders were afraid these women would move back to reserves and make an already bad housing situation even worse.

When nothing happened in Canada, Lovelace Nicholas petitioned the United Nations Human Rights Commission. She said that Canada had violated the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which bans sexual discrimination and guarantees "equal protection before the law" to everyone.

The UN agreed, and in 1985, the federal government finally introduced legislation changing the Indian Act — and 16 000 First Nations and Métis women regained their status.

EXPLORATIONS

1. How can Lovelace Nicholas's actions be interpreted as an attempt to reconcile her non-nationalist loyalty to Aboriginal women with her nationalist loyalties?
2. When people try to change a nation, they often face a difficult struggle — and may be labelled troublemakers. Later, they are often admired for their courage and wisdom. This is what happened to Lovelace Nicholas. Identify someone else this happened to. Explain the contending nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties this person was trying to reconcile.

Fighting for a Sense of Belonging

In 1957, **segregation** — the forced separation of racial groups — was still common in the American South. But the civil rights movement was gaining strength and laws were changing. That year, 16-year-old Minnijean Brown Trickey and eight other teenagers became the first blacks to attend Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Angry whites gathered outside the school and screamed insults as the black students tried to enter the school. Arkansas's governor called out the National Guard to block the school's entrance. This went on for days, but U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower sent in the army to protect the teens.

The students, who became known as the Little Rock Nine, were finally able to go their classes, but other students continued to harass them. They were spat at, kicked down stairs, and body slammed. Teachers did little to help.

Supported by her belief in non-violence, Brown Trickey endured for five months before she finally reacted strongly. As punishment, she was expelled. Still, she went on to earn a bachelor of arts.

During the Vietnam War, she moved to Canada with her husband, who was a conscientious objector. In Canada, she joined the struggle to save old-growth forests in Ontario's Temagami district and to promote Aboriginal rights.

In some ways, Brown Trickey told an interviewer, her involvement in Aboriginal rights was an accident. "The first people I met when I moved to Toronto were Native Canadians," she said. "I did a bachelor of social work in Native human services, which was great. I learned so much about the similarities of cultures. The main point is that one doesn't really choose a particular issue to work towards. In fact, we are chosen often. That's a good way to be. To me, it means some kind of openness, willingness to work with anyone, any group."

What non-nationalist loyalty were Brown Tricky and the Little Rock Nine trying to reconcile? What might Brown Trickey have in common with Aboriginal peoples in Canada? How might her experience in Little Rock contribute to her interest in the struggle of Aboriginal peoples?

VOICES

Of course, I understood the moment — opening up the facilities at Central to everybody, eliminating two systems of education, one deeply inferior and one greatly superior — was bigger than me, than us, than the Little Rock Nine. As the school year unfolded, I came to sense a great obligation. The obligation — knowing I had to be a "credit to my race" — is what I remember most profoundly from that year.

— *Minnijean Brown Trickey, in* Teaching Tolerance *magazine, 2007*

Figure 4-23 Minnijean Brown, 16, one of the Little Rock Nine, arrives outside Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, on September 25, 1957. President Dwight Eisenhower had ordered U.S. soldiers to protect her, if necessary.

Figure 4-24 In 2007, the Little Rock Nine gathered to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the day they integrated the school. Brown Trickey is circled.

FYI

Hutterites are a Christian religious community that began in Austria in the 16th century. Members of the community were often persecuted because of their pacifist beliefs and communal lifestyle. As a result, many immigrated to North America, where they hoped to practise their religion in peace. In Hutterite colonies, all property is owned by the community and earnings are pooled. When community members need something, the community supplies it.

Is allowing exceptions to laws, such as the one requiring photographs on drivers' licences, fair to everyone?

Figure 4-25 Maher Arar and Monia Mazigh consult during a news conference in 2004. They worked together to successfully clear Arar's name and persuade the government to admit that his rights had been violated.

Fighting for Religious Freedoms

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms now guarantees freedom of religion to Canadians. Still, government actions can affect religious groups in Canada — and vice versa.

In 2003, for example, Alberta — like many other provinces — passed a law requiring a photograph on all drivers' licences. But some members of the Wilson Siding Hutterite Colony, a farming community in southern Alberta, believe that the Bible prohibits them from willingly having their picture taken.

Obeying the law would mean violating their religious beliefs. But following their religious beliefs would mean they could not have a driver's licence. Losing their licences would make it hard for the community to continue farming and to interact with other Hutterite communities in the Prairie provinces.

Members of the Wilson Colony challenged the Alberta law in court. They argued that the picture requirement violated their religious freedoms, which are guaranteed in the Charter. The court agreed. As a result, Hutterites are allowed to carry drivers' licences that do no include a photograph — but in late 2007, the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada.

➔ Conduct Internet research to find out what has happened since then.

Making Reconciliation Work

A year after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, Canadian Maher Arar — who was born in Syria — was flying home from a holiday overseas. On a stopover in New York, he was detained by American officials. The Americans received misleading or false information from Canadian officials. As a result, the Americans accused Arar, a Muslim, of being a terrorist. They deported him to Syria, where he was jailed and tortured.

Over the next year, Monia Mazigh, Arar's wife, brought Arar's case to the attention of Canadian media. The media coverage put pressure on the Canadian government to request Arar's release — and he was finally set free in 2003.

Arar was targeted because of his religion and his ethnic background. After he returned home, he and Mazigh continued the campaign to clear his name. They wanted to make sure that all Canadians are treated fairly and are free to be loyal to their religion and their ethnic group at the same time as they are loyal to Canada.

Arar told a news conference: "What is at stake here is the future of our country, the interests of Canadian citizens, and most importantly, Canada's international reputation for being a leader in human rights where citizens from different ethnic groups are treated no different than other Canadians."

Taking Turns

Is it important to your identity to reconcile your nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties?

The students responding to this question are Jane, who lives in Calgary and is descended from black Loyalists who fled to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution; Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; and Amanthi, who lives in Edson and whose parents immigrated from Sri Lanka.

Jane

I think my strongest non-nationalist loyalty is to racial equality — and this loyalty fits well with being loyal to Canada. After all, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees that all Canadian citizens are equal. Sure, there are problems, like the police stopping black male drivers just because they think black people are more likely to be criminals, not because they've done anything wrong. Actually, maybe I'll change my mind. Reconciling my non-nationalist loyalty is important to me because I think our country should be a place where everyone, including me, is really and truly equal — not just equal on paper.

I guess you could call me a free spirit. And that's what I like about Alberta, too — the independent-minded people who are willing to risk doing things on their own. It's all about personal freedom and taking responsibility for your own actions. I don't even mind helping out other provinces, which Alberta does by sharing its wealth. This makes Canada strong, and I do feel a strong loyalty to Canada. But if Canada and Alberta end up in a battle over the oil industry, I'm pretty sure where my loyalty would lie. But I really hope it doesn't come to that.

Rick

Amanthi

I'm a Buddhist, and Buddhists believe in peace and non-violence. But we can be courageous about expressing our convictions. Think about what happened in Myanmar in 2007 — the thousands of Buddhist monks and other Myanmar citizens who marched peacefully to try to persuade the government to become more democratic, even when they probably knew they would be beaten, arrested, and even killed. I sometimes wonder how I would have acted if I'd been faced with the same choice. Take to the streets and try to bring about change, or keep your head down and don't rock the boat? I know I'm lucky to live in Canada, where I don't have to make decisions like this. But I also wish the Canadian government had spoken out more strongly when that happened. I feel a little ashamed by the government's lack of action — and ashamed, too, that I didn't do anything to change the situation. Now I need to turn this feeling into positive action.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Jane, Rick, and Amanthi are answering? Think about the non-nationalist loyalties you feel most strongly about. Do they compete with your nationalist loyalties? If so, is it important to reconcile these contending loyalties?

THINK...PARTICIPATE...RESEARCH...COMMUNICATE...

1. In a 2007 Canada Day speech, Michaëlle Jean, the country's governor general, issued a challenge to Canadian young people: "I challenge you, the youth of this country, to do everything in your power to make your dreams come true and to make your actions matter. There is no dream too wild or unattainable for those who dare to dream big."

   a) What do you think of Jean's challenge?

   b) Could Jean's challenge provoke a clash of loyalties? In what ways? What would you do to reconcile these loyalties?

   c) Think of one dream that you might view as "too wild or unattainable." Explain how trying to realize this dream could help — or harm — you, your community, and your nation. What nationalist or non-nationalist loyalties are involved in your "wild" dream?

2. In this chapter, you have explored nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties, how they can compete, and how some people have managed to reconcile them.

   a) In order of importance, list three reasons people may want to reconcile their nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties.

   b) In order of importance, list three reasons people may not want to reconcile their nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties.

   c) Which of the reasons you listed do you think is the most important? Explain the reasons for your judgment.

3. An epigraph is a quotation at the beginning of a book or a chapter of a book. This quotation often hints at or sums up the theme of the work. As the epigraph for his book *Two Solitudes*, Hugh MacLennan chose this quotation by the Austrian novelist and poet Rainer Maria Rilke: "Love consists in this, that two solitudes protect and touch and greet each other."

   Rewrite this epigraph in your own words. Then use examples from Canada to explain it.

4. In the cartoon on this page, artist Tom Innes expressed his view of the battle over the National Energy Program.

   a) Identify the characters in the Innes cartoon. Who is Pete? Who is Pierre?

   b) The title of the cartoon is "Team Canada?" Why did Innes use a question mark in the title? Why did he dress his characters in hockey gear? Innes placed a maple leaf on both players' shoulders. What message does this send?

   c) List three reactions Peter Lougheed might have experienced on seeing this cartoon. Write a sentence giving a possible reason for each reaction. You might, for example, say that he felt frustrated because he thought the situation would never end. Then do the same for Pierre Trudeau.

Figure 4-26

Skill Builder to Your Challenge

Put It All Together

The challenge for Related Issue 1 asks you to create a feature for a magazine or e-zine. This feature will explore connections between nation and identity.

In this skill builder, you will complete the challenge by organizing and putting together the elements of your feature. As you design your final layout, you will hone your written, visual, and media literacy skills.

Step 1: Edit the elements of your feature

- **Your headline** — Does it send the message you want to send? Does it accurately sum up your position on the connection between nation and identity?
- **Your quotations and visuals** — Do your visuals and quotations support your position? Will your visuals, captions, and quotations help convince readers that your position is valid? Edit your captions for clarity, grammar, and spelling.
- **Your supported opinion paragraph** — Review the final draft of your paragraph. Is your paragraph effective? Will readers understand your main point when they read your topic sentence? Do the other sentences in the paragraph support your main point? Does the final sentence sum up your position and restate your main point?

  Edit your paragraph again for clarity, grammar, and spelling.

Step 2: Lay out the elements of your feature

Review magazine features — in print or online — for ideas about laying out the various elements of your feature. You may also wish to analyze the design and layout of some pages of this textbook for ideas.

Print out or write your headline, quotations, captions, and paragraph. Make sure you can fit them and your visuals in the available space.

Ask a partner to review your feature's content and layout. Ask for general comments, as well as specific remarks on the editing. Does the feature look good? Is the point you are trying to make clear enough? Is anything missing?

Step 3: Complete and present your feature

When you are satisfied, put your magazine feature together in its final form and present it to the class. Be prepared to explain the message you want to convey, as well as how your evidence — including your visuals and quotations — supports your position.